

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Information Service

Fact data on international questions for reference use

VOL. II—NO. 23

JANUARY 19, 1927

CONTENTS

	Page
Theoretical Structure of the Chinese Republic	274
Principal Military Leaders Holding Authority in North China	276
Present Political Status of the Chinese Provinces	277
Provinces under Cantonese Control	277
Political "Parties" and Military Factions	278
Origin of the Nationalist Movement	280
Early Influence of Sun Yet-sen, First Kuomintang Leader	281
Organization of the Kuomintang, or "People's Party"	282
Reorganization of the Chinese Legal System	283
Recent Development of the Educational System	284
Text of the Political Program of the Kuomintang	285

Published bi-weekly by the Research Department of the FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, 18 East 41st St., New York, N. Y.
JAMES G. McDONALD, Chairman; Subscription Rates: \$5.00 per year; to F. P. A. Members, \$3.00; Single Copies, 25c.

Factors In The Internal Situation In China

THE trend of recent events in China, marked by the rise of the Southern (Kuomintang) Government, the waning influence of Peking under the dominance of rival military leaders, the growth of the Nationalist Movement and the increasing evidence of anti-foreign sentiment, is being followed with interest and attention throughout this country and Europe. Few western observers, however, have been able to keep abreast of the rapid changes in the political scene. The intimate knowledge of Chinese institutions and customs necessary to a complete understanding of the forces operating in China today is found only in a small minority of observers experienced in the history of the East.

This report is intended to provide a brief survey of the more important factors in the present internal situation in China, together with a review of the immediate background of current developments: the theoretical basis of the Republic, the origin of the Nationalist Movement, the principal leaders, military and civil, of the important groups, the present political situation and the pro-

gress in the fields of education and modern law. No mention is made of the status of foreign rights and interests in China, which will be reviewed separately in an early issue of the *Information Service*.

Before the establishment of the Republic in China in 1912 the governmental system was a theoretical absolute monarchy with sole authority to make laws and appoint officials resting in the Emperor. This system was modified, however, by a long established custom which provided for the selection of prospective officials through a series of examinations in the Chinese classics. It was further modified by the practice that all the local affairs of the village communities, the crafts and commercial guilds and the families were managed by the heads of these groups rather than by the government as such. The basic assumption was that the less the government had to do with the ordinary people, and the less the people with the government officials, the better for everybody concerned. In practice the governmental administration was little more than a tax collecting machine for the benefit of

the rulers and the officials, with the taxes kept within well defined limits by long established custom.

When the Republic was started, an attempt was made to introduce a type of government based on fundamentally different political conceptions. The French form of government was followed, in the main, in the first constitution which was adopted by the Constitutional Convention at Nanking and formally promulgated on March 11, 1912 by Yuan-Shih-kai, the first formal president. Although since that time there have been two other completed constitutions, the main outlines of the governmental system have been kept the same in all these documents.

THEORETICAL STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

According to these constitutions, the head of the government is the President, who is elected by Parliament. He is related to the administration as is the President of France, rather than the American President. The administration itself is in the hands of the Cabinet which theoretically is responsible to Parliament rather than to the President. Parliament consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives, the members of which theoretically are elected by the qualified popular vote in geographical districts.

This theoretical form, however, has never been followed. In practice, with the possible exception of the first election of Dr. Sun Yat-sen as provisional president and the first election of Yuan Shih-kai as substantive president (both early in 1912), the presidency has gone to the nominee of the man who had the dominant military authority in the Peking area or who succeeded to the presidency from the vice-presidency. In some cases the form of election by Parliament has been followed, but even in these cases bribery and military coercion have played a dominant part.

In practice the cabinet has never been responsible to Parliament. The forty-odd cabinets in the main have been bodies made up of representatives of various military chieftains with the balance of power shifting in the cabinet as the military power shifted. In practice the various parliaments have never been elected by popular vote.

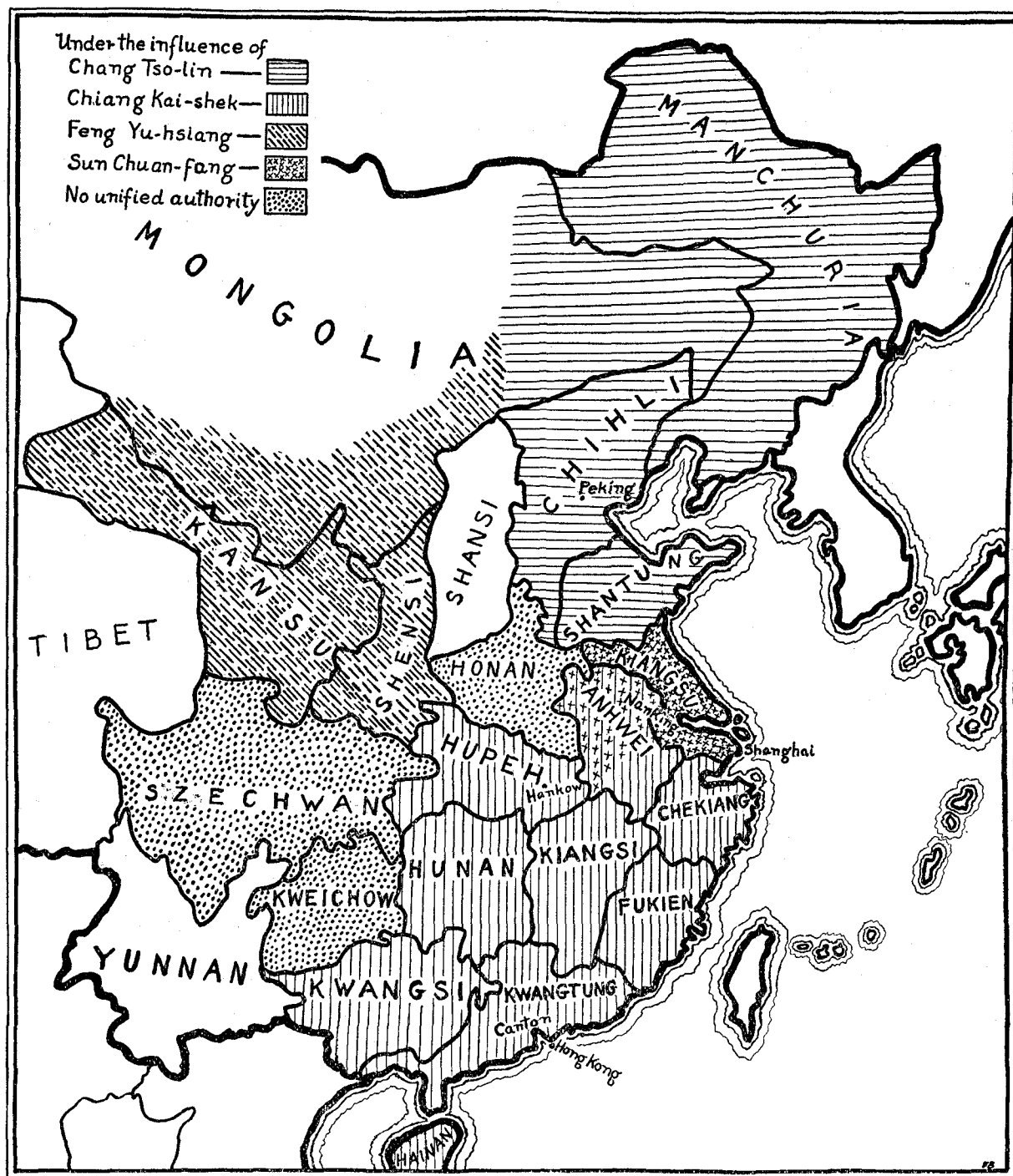
The first formal parliament selected under the terms of the provisional constitution was chosen substantially by agreement among the Republican leaders. This parliament was dissolved by Yuan Shih-kai in the autumn of 1913 but refused to accept that dissolution as valid. Its members reassembled at various times subsequently and even in the summer of 1923 took it on themselves to draw up a new constitution and elect Tsao Kun president — the election taking place on October 8 and the new constitution being promulgated on October 10. This constitution was formally declared invalid by the provisional government which was established in November, 1924,

Meanwhile another parliament had been nominally elected, although in reality the members of this body were appointees of Yuan Shih-kai and in no sense represented the people of the districts from which they were supposed to come. This parliament drew up parts of another constitution including a presidential election law which stands today as the only generally constitutional document in China.

POPULAR ELECTIONS NOT ACHIEVED

There have never been anything approaching popular elections in China, either in the national government or in the local administrations. Although the real succession of authority since the establishment of the Republic has depended on the possession of military power, the various administrations in Peking have been at some pains to preserve the forms of legal continuity. Technically the provisional governments which lasted from November, 1924 to April, 1926 started with a frank break in this continuity but the formal legal succession was reestablished when Dr. W. W. Yen (who had been Premier under President Tsao Kun in October, 1924) resumed the premiership in May, 1926.

During the various times when there has been no President the cabinet has carried on, under provisions of the constitution, as a regency. This is the status of the administration in Peking at present. All the constitutions provide that such a regency shall



Prepared by the Foreign Policy Association.

Political and Military Map of China (January, 1927)

Shansi and Yunnan provinces are each under the control of a single governor. Neither is closely associated with either of the two principal factions. Tibet and Mongolia are nominally dependencies of China, but for some years Tibet has been independent and Mongolia has been under Russian influence.

not last for more than three months, within which time the cabinet shall reassemble parliament and provide for the election of a new president. This latter constitutional requirement has been ignored since April, 1926.

THE MILITARY SUCCESSION

At the time of the establishment of the Republic Yuan Shih-kai, nominally acting under the Manchu emperor, was in substantial control of China through the group of

military subordinates which he had built up. As long as he was alive the members of this group worked fairly well together under his leadership. When he died they began quarrelling among themselves for the position of dominance which Yuan had occupied. Out of that quarrel have developed most of the politico-military disturbances since 1916. Among the members of this group were Feng Kuo-chang, Hsu Shih-chang (both of whom later became presidents), Tuan Chi-jui (who became provisional chief executive in November, 1924). All of these men are now in complete retirement, with the possible exception of Tuan who is occasionally mentioned as a candidate for the presidency. As long as these men were in control they worked together to a certain extent in spite of occasional quarrels. Since they have passed off the stage, however, the new military leaders have lacked any common bond and disorganization and military disturbances have steadily increased.

PRINCIPAL NORTHERN MILITARY LEADERS

The men who have come to the fore in recent years are in the main the former subordinates of one or another of these older leaders. The following descriptions, written for the *Information Service* by Grover Clark, editor and publisher of the *Peking Leader*, give a brief picture of the principal military leaders.

Chang Tso-lin, formerly a bandit chief who took part in the Russo-Japanese war on behalf of the Japanese, was one of the proteges of Hsu Shih-chang when the latter was Viceroy of Manchuria. When Hsu became president in 1918, Chang succeeded to the control of Manchuria and since that time has steadily increased his authority in that area. In 1920 he joined with Tsao Kun and his subordinate Wu Pei-fu in driving the "Anfu party," then headed by Tuan Chi-jui as Premier, from power in Peking. In 1922 Wu Pei-fu drove Chang Tso-lin from Peking. Shortly thereafter Chang declared the independence of his government in Manchuria. In 1925, following the defeat of Wu Pei-fu by Feng Yu-hsiang, Chang Tso-lin attempted to extend his power to the Yangtze valley. At present he is in control of the Peking area

and Shantung province as well as in Manchuria.

Tsao Kun, who was elected President in October, 1923 first started his military career as a sergeant under Tuan Chi-jui. He attained his prominence chiefly through the ability and loyalty of his subordinate Wu Pei-fu. He is now in retirement not far from Peking, having formally resigned the presidency in November, 1924.

Wu Pei-fu, the only one of the northern generals who has received a real education, first came prominently into the limelight in 1920 through his skill in the campaign to drive Tuan Chi-jui from Peking. Thereafter he rose rapidly in influence although he consistently maintained his loyalty to his superior Tsao Kun. From the spring of 1922 to the autumn of 1924, Wu Pei-fu was as nearly in complete control of China up to the Great Wall as any man since Yuan Shih-kai's day. He met disaster when he attempted to push his authority into Manchuria. From that time on Wu's authority steadily decreased. His troops were driven from Hankow in the late spring of 1926. He now is in a small railway town not far south of Peking (Chengcheow, Honan province). His forces are completely disorganized and he himself has lost much of his vitality. In the recent reorganization of the government by Chang Tso-lin he was completely ignored. He fought with Chang Tso-lin in 1920, against Chang Tso-lin in 1922-24 and again with Chang Tso-lin in 1926.

Feng Yu-hsiang—the so-called Christian General—was associated with Wu Pei-fu from the time that Feng was a corporal and Wu was a captain in the regiment under the command of Tsao Kun. As Wu's authority increased, Feng's did also, although these two at no time were particularly friendly toward each other. When Wu launched his drive against Chang Tso-lin in the summer of 1924, he sent Feng into inner Mongolia in order to attack Chang in the flank. Feng declared that war was useless and, announcing his determination to preserve peace, made a forced march back to Peking, and on October 23, 1924, took control of the city, while Wu was at the front. Wu's forces immediately went to pieces. Feng called his army the Kuominchun (People's Army) and

reiterated his determination to bring peace. He remained in control at Peking until May, 1926 when a combination of Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin forced him to withdraw into the far northwest. He is now reorganizing his forces in preparation for a drive into Peking in cooperation with the Cantonese forces from the Yangtze.

Sun Chuan-fang, formerly a subordinate of Wu Pei-fu, rose rapidly from the governorship of Chekiang province to control of the five lower Yangtze provinces: Kiangsu (in which Shanghai is located), Kiangsi, Chekiang, Anhui and Fukien. When the Cantonese drive toward the Yangtze started he refused either to help Wu Pei-fu or to join definitely with the Cantonese. On May 29, 1926 he declared the independence of these five provinces. The Cantonese have pushed down the Yangtze and up the coast into his territory until now he has control of only part of Kiangsu province. He has definitely allied himself with Chang Tso-lin.

THE STATUS OF THE PROVINCES

The three eastern provinces (Manchuria) have been under the control of Chang Tso-lin for approximately ten years. There is banditry in the outlying districts, but on the whole conditions have been fairly stable and the provinces have been fairly prosperous under Chang Tso-lin's iron rule.

The northwest (the special administrative areas of Chahar and Suiyan and the province of Kansu) has been virtually independent of all authority for some time, although this or that militarist in control of Peking has appointed one or another of his followers as governors of these areas. At present Suiyuan and Kansu are controlled by Feng Yushiang, Chahar by Chang Tso-lin.

Chihli province (in which Peking and Tientsin are situated) has been under control of whoever happened to dominate in Peking. This province has been the scene of considerable fighting in recent years.

Shansi has been under the control since the beginning of the Republic of Yen Hsi-shan who has administered the province as a benevolent dictator. He has kept order, stayed out of the factional quarrels for Peking and accomplished much in developing education, building roads, etc. Within the past

year he has been dragged into the quarrels in the north and his province has suffered as a result, although conditions there are still much better than in others of the northern provinces.

Shensi has suffered from a long series of rival military leaders who have been to all intents and purposes independent of Peking. It never was a wealthy province and because of the constant quarrels of the militarists and the huge number of soldiers in the province, the conditions are extremely bad. It now is partially controlled by Feng Yushiang.

Honan also has suffered a great deal from the quarrels of rival militarists. It is potentially a rich province, but the looting and general lawlessness of bandits and so-called soldiers of the past six or seven years has reduced it to extreme poverty.

Shantung, one of the most thickly populated and potentially richest of the provinces also has suffered tremendously from the military and the bandits. The bandits in most cases, in this province as in others, are ex-soldiers who were turned out of the army when their commanders were defeated. At present the governor of this province is Chang Tsung-chang who is nominally a subordinate of Chang Tso-lin and who has a widespread reputation for extreme lawlessness and cruelty.

The Yangtze provinces on the whole have suffered less than those in the North.

Kiangsu and Chekiang in the main have been under the same control although the authority has passed through the hands of several men. There has been some fighting in these provinces, but the authority has passed in each case with the capture of the key cities of Shanghai and Hangchow respectively.

PROVINCES UNDER CANTONESE CONTROL

Fukien has suffered greatly from military clashes at the hands of rival governors. In this province more than in any other the governors have forced the growth of opium as a means of obtaining revenue. At present the province is substantially under the control of the Cantonese.

Kiangsi and Anhui have in the main been

appendages of Kiangsu and consequently have not been as much victimized by militarists. Opium has been grown in large quantities in Anhui particularly. Both these provinces are now almost entirely controlled by the Cantonese.

Hupei (in which is the important commercial center of Hankow with the two neighboring cities of Wuchang and Han-yang) for many years was the base of Wu Pei-fu's operations to the south and west. On the whole it has been less disturbed than others of the northern provinces. At present it is controlled by the Cantonese.

Hunan has been substantially independent of all outside authority for most of the period since the Republic was started. Various military leaders have quarrelled for control of the province and as a consequence there has been considerable banditry in the outlying districts and some disorganization around the capital, Changsha. It is now controlled by the Cantonese.

Szechuan province has been the scene of a long series of quarrels between various combinations of four or five principal military figures with one or the other for a time nominally governor, according to his ability to buy or persuade the others to support him. Yang Sen received the backing of Wu Pei-fu and has been governor for longer periods than any other leader in this province. The authority of the Central government, however, is practically nil in Szechuan and the authority even of the provincial governor is very small except in the immediate neighborhood of the capital, Chengtu.

Kweichow is an extremely poor and mountainous province and has been of comparatively slight importance in the politico-military developments in China.

Yunnan has been governed by Tang Chi-yao for approximately ten years. He has not, however, been able to exercise much authority beyond the environs of the capital, and there has been considerable banditry in the outlying districts. Yunnan is of considerable importance because of its rich tin deposits and its proximity to French Indo-China. The French influence in Yunnan has been strong.

Kwangsi has nominally been under the Canton government for some years, but authority in this province has been divided

between a series of quarrelling and substantially independent military chieftains. Within the past year the Cantonese have succeeded in establishing some sort of real authority in the province.

Kwangtung (the capital of which is Canton) also has been nominally under Canton, but in reality split up between rival militarists. Within the past year the Cantonese have established real authority over the province. (This province should not be confused with the Kwantung leased territory held by the Japanese in Manchuria.)

POLITICAL "PARTIES"

Except for the growth of the Kuomintang (the people's party) in recent years, there has been in China nothing paralleling what in the west is called a political party. There have been various groups calling themselves parties, but these have been for the most part only personal cliques based on a desire for increased personal power and held together by personal self-interest rather than groups resting on a common acceptance of a political program.

The Kuomintang is the outgrowth of the revolutionary group organized by Sun Yat-sen well before the overthrow of the Manchus. It was the dominant factor in the creation of the provisional government immediately following the outbreak of the revolution in 1911, but its adherents were driven from power by the more astute and experienced followers of Yuan Shih-kai. Beginning in 1920 and through a series of reorganizations, the latest of which took place in May, 1926, this party has come to have a well defined policy and a membership which covers not only most of China but many of the Chinese communities outside the boundaries of the Republic. A fuller description of this party is given later in this report.

The Anfu club, which takes its name from the street on which its headquarters were located in Peking, consists of a group of men who have been associated with Tuan Chi-jui. It first became a prominent factor in Chinese politics in 1918 and it was the activities of this group in accepting the Nishihara loans from Japan which lead to its expulsion from power in 1920. The student movement

which started in 1919 was the expression of a vigorous popular opposition to the Anfu activities on the ground that the Anfus were "selling out" the country to Japan.

The Chiaotung clique (which gets its name from the name of the Ministry of Communications in Peking) is made up of men in the main who have been Ministers of Communications or interested in communications activities. Included in this group are a number of the leading bankers, financiers and industrialists of the country. The two most prominent figures are Yeh Kung-cho and Liang Shih-yi. The former has been an extremely able Minister of Communications on various occasions and the latter has been the chief figure in building up the Bank of Communications. He has held positions as Premier and Minister of Finance on various occasions.

The Chinputang, or progressive party, organized in 1916 by a group of the younger and more liberal leaders in north China, for a time had considerable influence. Now, however, this group has broken up and its members either have stepped out of politics altogether or have allied themselves with other factions.

The Communist party which had a very small beginning some years ago has increased somewhat in membership since the reentry of Russian influence in China in 1921. The membership of this party, however, is still very small and while it has played a considerable part in stirring up the labor agitations of the last year or two, it has no marked influence in China and is not likely to have, in the opinion of close observers, because Communism as an economic doctrine does not appeal to the Chinese. For a time the Communist party was associated with the Kuomintang, but this association was broken by the rulings of the Kuomintang in May, 1926.

MILITARY FACTIONS

The military group which centered around Yuan Shih-kai and continued as a more or less coherent organization after his death was called the Peiyang party. This group went to pieces with the death or retirement of its principal leaders.

The Anfu party was able to get consider-

able political influence from its military power through the position of Tuan Chi-jui as one of the principal leaders in the Peiyang Party. With the elimination of Tuan as an effective factor in military affairs the power of this party has gone.

Wu Pei-fu, as the real leader of the so-called Chihli Party (the name being taken from the province in which Peking is located) was the dominant influence in North China for several years. In the beginning Chang Tso-lin was associated with him, but later they quarrelled. This group has been broken up with the elimination of Wu Pei-fu.

POSITION OF CHANG TSO-LIN

The Fengtien Party (which takes its name from the Chinese name for Mukden) consists of Chang Tso-lin and his adherents. Aside from the Mukden war lord himself, the principal figures in this group at present are Yang Yu-ting (chief of staff), Chang Tsung-chang (governor of Shantung) and Chang Hsueh-lang (Chang Tso-lin's oldest son) popularly known as "Young Chang." Young Chang at present is in control at Peking with a group of able assistants who stayed by him through the extremely trying month of Kuo Sung-lin's revolt in the fall of 1925. He is said to be frankly selfish and desirous of making himself dictator of China, but he is generally believed to be more farsighted than most of the military men in realizing that if he is to achieve any prominent position he must maintain order and give a reasonably efficient administration wherever he exercises control.

The Kuominchung (Feng Yu-hsiang's group) is still potentially a very important factor in Chinese affairs in spite of its defeat last spring and its present weak position in the northwest. Feng has built up in this group a sense of discipline and personal loyalty without parallel in any of the other Chinese armies. At present this group is getting arms and munitions and some advice from the Russians, but it is not in any sense communistic and apparently the Russian help is being taken simply because badly needed military supplies can be secured from no other source.

Sun Yat-sen for many years talked of organizing an army to unify China. His plan was to move north from Canton to the Yangtze valley and thence up to the Great Wall. It remained for Chang Kai-shek (a native of Chekiang province who is now still in his thirties) to provide the necessary organizing ability to carry out this dream. Chang with Russian help and advice built up a military academy at Canton (The Whangpoa Military School) and in the beginning of 1925 established the real authority of the Canton Government over Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. He then made a drive into the Yangtze beginning in the spring of 1926. He maintains very strict discipline among his troops and his soldiers are welcomed wherever they go because they have a reputation for keeping order and paying for everything which they take.

Sun Chuan-fang had what seemed to be a very strong military group in the five lower Yangtze provinces, but this group went to pieces in the face of the advance of the Cantonese during the summer of 1926 and Sun himself has now definitely joined with Chang Tso-lin in spite of his very bitter personal feeling against Chang Tsung-chang.

At the moment, from a military point of view there are two main groups in China—that centering around Chang Tso-lin in the North and the combination of the Cantonese and Feng Yu-hsiang in the Yangtze and the northwest respectively. Both sides are preparing for a clash which probably will come in the spring. Popular opinion is decidedly in favor of the Cantonese-Feng Yu-hsiang combination.

ORIGIN OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

The desire for reorganization of the Chinese political system to bring it more in line with modern western ideas got its first striking expression in 1898 when a group of young men succeeded in securing control of the imperial machinery of government in Peking, putting the notorious Empress Dowager into semi-confinement and placing the young emperor on the throne. They remained in power for approximately 100 days. During that period a series of Imperial edicts were issued which provided for

the complete reorganization of the administrative system, the introduction of modern education, the building of railroads, telegraphs, etc. These edicts were masterpieces of theoretical statesmanship, and if the lines laid down in them had been followed the whole history of China since that time might have been materially different from what it actually has been.

But partly as a result of their lack of practical political experience, these young men entirely overlooked the vast body of conservative Chinese opinion. The consequence, was that the Empress Dowager was able to regain control and the edicts of the 100 days were virtually nullified. This too hasty attempt of the young men also contributed very largely to the development of the reaction against things foreign which exploded in 1900 in the form of the Boxer uprising.

In 1908 the influence of the Liberal movement was strong enough to lead the imperial authorities to adopt a program for the gradual introduction of popular government in China. The first steps in the actual carrying out of this program were taken, but the Manchus had lost so much of popular support and the movement led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen for the establishment of a Republic had gained so much headway that a serious attempt to carry the program through never was made.

BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC

In 1911 a minor revolt of the petty officers of a regiment located in Wuchang (one of the three cities in the commercially important Hankow area) led to the proclamation of the establishment of the Republic. The officer in command of the regiment concerned was compelled by his subordinates at the point of a pistol to sign the revolutionary declaration. This man (Li Yuan-hung) later became President of China and is now living in retirement in Tientsin.

The revolutionary movement spread rapidly through the Yangtze valley although in the beginning most of its adherents were young and without political experience. The strongest man in the Manchu government at the time was the Chinese Yuan Shih-kai who was put in charge of the suppression of the

Republic. He compromised with the Republicans and manoeuvred himself into the position of being the first formal President of the Republic. Subsequently he tried to make himself emperor—unsuccessfully—and this attempt was followed by his death in 1916.

EARLY INFLUENCE OF SUN YAT-SEN

When it became clear that Yuan was planning to betray the Republic as he had betrayed the Manchus, Sun Yat-sen (who had been chosen as the first provisional president and had retired to make place for Yuan Shih-kai) began his agitation for the overthrow of the Yuan administration and the creation of a real popular government in China. From 1916, when Yuan died, down to the time of Sun's death in the spring of 1925, Sun Yat-sen was the outstanding leader of the group which had as its avowed purpose the creation of a real republic. For some years before his death Dr. Sun's tremendous devotion to the cause of Chinese welfare and his disinterested work in promoting that cause had won him an outstanding position as the inspirer of young China. Since his death he has come to be almost idolized throughout the country. Sun Yat-sen, however, found it difficult to work well with others and the consequence was that as long as he was alive no one else had much opportunity to play a leading role in the development of the revolutionary movement. For a time, Wu Ting-fang (for some years before the Republic Minister to the United States), Tang Shao-yi after 1916 (the first premier of the Republic) and a number of other men of considerable ability were associated with Dr. Sun. Most of those around him, however, and Dr. Sun himself, while sincerely idealistic were utterly lacking in political judgment and experience. The consequence was that this group with its headquarters at Canton was not able to deal on anything like equal terms with the selfish but much more astute military leaders of the North.

Dr. Sun, however, continued his agitation, and at various times from 1917 on announced that his administration at Canton was the real government of China. But he never was able to maintain himself with any degree of security even in Canton—he was forced to flee from that city on at least two

occasions. It was not until after Dr. Sun died that the Canton administration began to have any effective power. The man who gave this group the military backing which it had lacked was Chang Kai-shek who now is leading the Cantonese armies in the Yangtze valley. So far he has proved himself not only by far the most able organizer and administrator that the revolutionary group has produced, but also one of the most brilliant military geniuses of modern years in China. Under his leadership the Canton armies have become a vital factor in Chinese affairs.

NEW LEADERS OF CANTON GROUP

Since Sun's death other men also have appeared in the Canton administration who have shown considerable effective organizing ability. One of these is a young Harvard graduate, T. V. Soong, who has been the Minister of Finance at Canton and, without any increase in the tax rates but through the elimination of "squeeze" has brought the monthly revenue of the Canton Government up from less than three quarters of a million dollars to more than four million dollars. Another of these able Cantonese is Wang Chung-wei (not be confused with Wang Chung-hui, ex-chief Justice, ex-Minister of Justice, and ex-Premier in Peking,) who has played a very prominent part in the organization of the civil administration in Canton and throughout Kwangtung province. C. C. Wu (Wu Ting-fang's son) and Sun Fo (Sun Yat-sen's son) also have contributed largely to the success of the Cantonese government in developing a successful administration although at the moment neither of these men are in Canton.

Since the Republic started most of the older and more astute politico-military leaders who were associated with Yuan Shih-kai have passed off the stage and their places in the North have been taken by young and on the whole less able leaders. On the other hand, the men who as enthusiastic and inexperienced youths played a prominent part in the movement in 1898 and again at the beginning of the Republic in 1911-12 are now older and considerably more experienced. A number of new men also have appeared in the southern group who are the equals of

any of the northerners in political sagacity and administrative ability.

The consequence is that now, for the first time since the beginning of the Republic, the balance of ability and of political experience and administrative capacity is on the side of the southerners rather than of the northerners. This is the first essentially new development in the situation in China in recent years and the fact that this balance of ability now has shifted is of great significance for the future of the Republic.

On the whole, the men connected with the South are more sincerely patriotic and disinterested in working for the betterment of China than the militarists in the North—although there are exceptions on both sides, of course. Popular opinion in China, too, today is very strongly on the side of the southerners.

Thus the politico-military situation in China today is in many respects fundamentally different from what it has been at any time previously since the beginning of the Republic.

ORGANIZATION OF THE KUOMINTANG

The Kuomintang,* as has been said above, is the only political group in China in any sense approaching the western conception of a political party. It is organized in the main along the lines of the old Chinese secret societies (the form which also was followed by the Communist Party in Russia but which was elaborated in China long before Communism was heard of) with a Central Executive Committee which has complete control of the party's affairs between the periods of the party meetings. The members of the Central Executive Committee theoretically are elected by the Party as a whole, and equally theoretically the party determines the main outlines of policy at the annual meetings. In practice the control is in the hands of a small group of men. This group is the direct outgrowth of a series of earlier

organizations fostered by Sun Yat-sen, which run back to the latter part of the nineteenth century. It received its present name and something of a reorganization in 1920.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the head of the Kuomintang during his lifetime. Since he died the power has been in the hands of a group of men associated with the Canton Government—the names of the principal ones of these have been given above. Theoretically, and in a large measure actually, the government of Canton and the military activities at present going on in the Yangtze are under the control of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. There is much the same sort of duplication between membership in this Executive Committee and membership in various departments of the government in Canton as exists in Russia between the Bolshevik government officials and the members of the Russian Communist Party Executive. At present Chang Kai-shek and a group particularly associated with him hold a majority of the places, on the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

The membership of the Kuomintang extends throughout China and into practically all the other countries where there are large numbers of Chinese residents. In the main the members of the party belong to the Liberal and better educated classes. The total membership is variously stated to be between three-quarters of a million and a million. Probably 95 per cent of the members are resident in China. In no sense is the party communistic.

The policy of the Kuomintang rests on the so-called "three principles of the people" promulgated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen—people's nationalism, people's sovereignty and people's livelihood. Under the heading of people's nationalism comes the program for freeing China from foreign control. Under people's sovereignty comes the effort towards the establishment of democracy. Under people's livelihood comes the effort to improve labor conditions and secure better economic opportunities for the ordinary people.

The most recent formal statement of policy on the part of the Kuomintang is embodied in the manifesto issued by the National Convention held in Canton on June 21, 1924.*

* The term *Kuomintang* is generally interpreted in English as "The People's Party." *Kuo* means country; *min* means people; *tang* means group or association. Thus *Kuomintang* means "people's party," or "national people's party."

In this connection it might be added that *Kuominchun*, the name of the army headed by Feng Yu-hsiang, means "people's" or "nationalist army"—*chun* being the word for army. While Feng Yu-hsiang and the *Kuominchun* have in the main been friendly towards the Kuomintang, there was no formal connection between the two groups until the fall of 1926 when Feng Yu-hsiang and a number of his subordinates formally joined the Kuomintang.

* See Annex I, page 285.

OTHER PHASES OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

These are some of the important steps in the steadily growing movement in China for reorganization along modern lines and for the improvement of political conditions. Within the last four or five years this groping for better things has come to be called the Nationalist Movement. This term is now most frequently applied to the politico-military aspects of the general efforts to improve conditions, and it is in this sense that the southerners call themselves the Nationalist Army and assert they are fighting for the Nationalist cause.

The same general desire for improvement, however, is showing itself in other than military and political directions. These are in a real sense part of the Nationalist Movement.

The development of a National Association for Advancement of Education, and the National Educational Association; the growth of the Mass Education Movement; the marked increase in the number of primary and secondary schools throughout the country; the steady advance in the number and standards of purely Chinese colleges; the rapid spread of the use of spoken language in place of the classical language in publications of all kinds; the enormous growth in the number of newspapers and the improvement in their quality—all these things are indications of the fact that the private Chinese citizens are realizing that they must take in hand the task of reorganizing the country instead of leaving that reorganization to the government officials. The growth of this sense of political and social responsibility is of profound significance, as it represents a fundamentally new development in Chinese political conceptions.

Through the organization of the National Chamber of Commerce, with its affiliated Chambers in all the trading centers of the country, and the National Bankers Association, which includes in its membership practically every Chinese bank, and through the spread of similar organizations in manufacturing lines as well as in exporting and importing, Chinese business men also are showing their growing sense of responsibility for the affairs of their country.

In connection with these developments it should be noted that the terms *North* and

South have no such significance in China as they did in the United States at the time of the Civil War. The educational and commercial organizations, for example, include in their membership persons not only in all parts of the country but in many Chinese communities abroad. Even in the politico-military affairs many southerners are associated with the militarists in the North and many northerners are working closely with the men of the South.

CHINESE LEGAL SYSTEM

The basis of the administration of law in China through most of its history has been the general principles laid down in Confucian classics. The detailed applications of these principles in each particular district have been determined very largely by local custom, with the consequence that in matters of property-holding, transfer of property, inheritance, legal rights of husbands or wives, and in general the whole range of civil law there has been a good deal of variation between one part of the country and another. Even in criminal law the variation has been marked. In fact, the distinction between civil and criminal law, and even the distinction between the judicial and the administrative functions of the magistrates scarcely was recognized in China in the old days.

This does not mean, however, that there was no law. Practically all of the ordinary affairs of the people and the differences which inevitably arose between them were settled by the leaders of the particular groups concerned without recourse of any kind to the governmental authorities. The functions of police administration which form so important a part of the body of law and administration in western countries, were carried out in China not by the Government nor by the magistrates, but by the heads of the family and other similar groups.

Early in the Manchu dynasty (approximately 1700 A. D.), the Manchu rulers drew up what has come to be called the Manchu code of laws. This was intended as a basis of guidance for the Manchu officials in their dealings with the Chinese, and was prepared because the Manchu officials were not familiar with Chinese customs and therefore

needed information of the sort embodied in the code.

CODIFICATION OF CHINESE LAW

Following the treaties with Great Britain, Japan and the United States (1902-3) which provided for the relinquishment of extraterritoriality when the Chinese legal system had been modernized, the Chinese embarked on the task of codifying their laws and reorganizing their legal administration. Beginning in 1917 a series of codes, based in the main on the Napoleonic Codes, but including many provisions specifically in accordance with Chinese traditions, were published. These have never been formally adopted by Parliament, but they have been promulgated by Presidential mandate and accepted as applicable in the modern Chinese courts. Competent legal authorities declare that these codes are on the whole satisfactory as the bases of legal administration. The full series of codes has not yet been completed.

In practice, under the old Chinese administration, the magistrate, acting as judge, was supposed to pay more attention to the equities of the particular case before him than to the technically legal aspects of the situation. Local custom and local precedent interpreted by his own sense of justice were supposed to be determining elements in forming his decision. (The difference between the Chinese and the western conceptions of the function of law and the place of the judge has been one of the principal causes of mutual misunderstanding between the Chinese and foreigners, not only in connection with strictly legal questions but also in many points arising from the Sino-foreign treaties.)

Following the decision to work out the modern codes, the Chinese also embarked on the process of establishing a series of courts organized along western lines and administered according to western ideas of proper legal procedure. These so-called modern courts have been established in a number of the principal cities and on the whole have been functioning reasonably well. As in the drawing up of the codes, so in the formation of the modern judicial system, the European rather than the British and American model has been followed.

At the head of the system is the Supreme Court whose duties are much like those of the Supreme Court of the United States except that in case of doubt as to the interpretation of law, Parliament or the President or any other government department may call on the Court for an interpretive opinion. The Supreme Court has made an excellent record for independence and fairness of judgment.

So far, the modern courts and the new codes have been established and applied only in comparatively few of the principal cities—chiefly the treaty ports. The great bulk of the Chinese people still manage their affairs in the traditional way with practically all of the detailed settlements of differences made by the leaders of the various groups rather than through appeal to the magistrates.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

In the old days in China there was no such thing as an organized governmental educational system. The young men of the country sat at the feet of scholars and learned to read and write from the classics. The son of a rich man might have a private tutor. The son of a poor man who showed any unusual capacity in the small groups of children that the scholars frequently gathered around themselves generally had no difficulty in getting some wealthier person to provide for his education, the incentive for the wealthier person being the honor of having a protege of his become a high official.

Beginning shortly after the first contact with the west, however (early in the nineteenth century) a start towards the establishment of something in the nature of modern education was made. The pioneers in this movement were the foreign missionaries and it was chiefly under missionary direction that organized modern schools were run until the end of the nineteenth century. Beginning soon after the Boxer times, however, there was a rapid development of Chinese interest in modern education and educational methods. A number of educational reform edicts were issued by the Emperor, the most important of these being that which permitted the study of western learning instead of the ancient Chinese classics in order to qualify for examination for government posts.

Since the establishment of the Republic a good deal of attention has been paid to educational development in China. After various trials and experiments a system has now been adopted fairly universally throughout the country which provides for primary and middle school (high school) education, divided in the main along American lines. These primary schools are supported chiefly by the villages and towns in which they are located. The middle schools are chiefly supported by the provinces. Above these schools there are a number of universities and special colleges of various sorts (agricultural schools, law schools, normal schools, etc.), which are nominally supported either by the central government or by the provincial government.

Supplementing these official schools are a great many private primary schools, middle schools and colleges, some of them supported by foreign missions, but most supported by private Chinese gifts. There are also a large number of irregularly organized schools connected with temples, with the private houses of wealthy people, with large family groups, etc.

Because of the disorganization of the governmental machinery the schools supported by the central government at Peking have

suffered seriously from lack of finances in recent years. But to compensate this loss, there has been a very rapid increase in the amount of money given by private Chinese for educational purposes of one or another sort. Chinese educational leaders who have made some study of the matter estimate that within the past three years probably well over ten million dollars have been contributed by Chinese private citizens for private Chinese education, aside from sums running into another forty million dollars which have been given specifically for the creation or endowment of certain new colleges. This figure of ten million dollars is probably more than the total amount given by Chinese directly for private education for others than members of their families in the whole of the nineteenth century. The development of privately supported education of all kinds in China has more than made up for the breakdown of the government supported colleges in Peking.

No definite statistics of illiteracy have been compiled in China, but authoritative estimates have it that within the past ten years illiteracy has been reduced from 97 to 92 or 93 per cent. This means that approximately twenty million people in China can read and write today who were not able to do so ten years ago.

ANNEX I

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL PROGRAM OF KUOMINTANG, CONTAINED IN A MANIFESTO, OF JANUARY 21, 1924*

I. Foreign Policies

(1) The abolition of all treaties not based on the equality of both contracting parties. Under this head, extra-territoriality, the foreign-controlled customs duties, and all political rights which foreign nations now exercise in the country ought to be abolished, and new treaties, based on the principle of mutual recognition of sovereign rights to be concluded.

(2) All nations which voluntarily relinquish their special rights mentioned and are willing to abrogate all treaties derogatory of China's sovereignty, China recognizes as most favored nations.

(3) All other treaties which infringe upon the national interests of China ought to be reconsidered. During their reconsideration mutual respect for the sovereign rights of both contracting powers is to be recognized as the fundamental principle.

(4) China's external debts ought, within the limits of political and industrial security, to be guaranteed and refunded.

(5) All of China's external debts which have been negotiated by irresponsible governments, such as the Peking Government that came into power in October, 1923, and have not been used for the promotion of the people's welfare but for the maintenance of personal honors and offices, and the prosecution of civil wars, are unwarranted. The Chinese people are not responsible for the repayment of such debts.

(6) A national convention to which professional groups of all provinces (such as Banking Associations and Chambers of Commerce) ought to be called in order to devise ways and means for the funding of China's external debts, thus enabling her to escape from the semi-dependent state into which she has been thrown.

* Issued from the National Convention of Kuomintang. English text published by the Executive Committee of Kuomintang Students League in Greater New York.

II. Domestic Policies

(1) We advocate neither extreme centralization nor extreme decentralization. A middle course between these two is to be preferred. All that concerns the nation at large ought properly to belong to the central government; and all that affects the interests of particular localities fall properly to the respective local governments concerned.

(2) The peoples of the various provinces have the right to make their own provincial constitutions and to elect their own governors. But it is to be understood that such provincial constitutions so made are not to be in conflict with the National Constitution. The governors are on the one hand administrators of the rights of self-government in their respective provinces, and on the other, representatives of the Central Government from which they receive orders for the administration of national affairs.

(3) Recognition of the *Hsien* (county) as the unit of self-government. The people of all such self-governed *Hsien* have the rights of directly electing and revoking officials, as well as those of initiative and referendum.

All tax proceeds from lands, accretion in land values, the produce of public lands, revenues derived from the utilization of forests and rivers, receipts from mining and water power—all these accrue to the local government which undertakes to use them for administering local affairs, providing institutions for the care of the young, the aged and the poor and dependent, aiding sufferers from famines and other natural disasters, and promoting sanitation and other kinds of public welfare.

When the financial capacity of the *Hsien* is insufficient to exploit its natural resources or to undertake large scale industrial and commercial enterprises, the Central Government is to render such aid as is necessary. The net profits therefrom are to be equally shared by the central and local governments.

Each *Hsien* undertakes to contribute a certain percentage of its receipts to the treasury of the Central Government, the minimum and maximum of such contribution being limited to 10 per cent and 50 per cent respectively.

(4) The abolition of existing electoral laws based on property as the criterion, and the promulgation of universal suffrage.

(5) Recognition of the rights of the people to assemble, to organize, to express themselves either

in speech or in print, to reside wherever they please and to enjoy the freedom of belief.

(6) The gradual transformation of the present mercenary to conscriptive military service. At the same time attention will be given to improvement of the economic conditions of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and also their legal status; agricultural and vocational training for the soldiers, stricter and more specific qualifications of officers, and the revision of the procedure of dismissal.

(7) In cooperation with the industrial world, the rehabilitation of the idle and vicious, making them productive social factors again.

(8) The enactment of laws governing the rate of rent, both urban and rural, and prohibiting overcharge and fraud; the abolition of *Likin*, etc., included.

(9) Census to be taken. Conservation of arable land, regulation of production and consumption of farm produce to insure equitable distribution.

(10) The betterment of agricultural communities and the amelioration of rural life.

(11) Labor legislation; the improvement of the living conditions of workers, and protection and encouragement of labor organizations.

(12) The recognition of the principle of sex equality, legally, economically, educationally, and socially, and the endorsement of the feminist movement.

(13) Universal education based upon the principle of individualization; the reorganization of the educational system; the increase and protection of educational funds.

(14) The enactment of land laws, laws regulating the use of land, laws governing the taxation of land-produce and of the assessed value of land. The value of lands privately owned, after having been properly assessed by their owner, must be reported to the government which will levy taxes on them proportionate to their value, and, if necessary, the government will exercise the right of eminent domain.

(15) All enterprises which partake of the nature of a monopoly, or assume proportions incommensurate with the financial resources of individual entrepreneurs, such as railroads and shipping industries shall be undertaken and administered by the state.

The above itemized program embodies the indispensable minimum of our party platform, and constitutes an immediate step to the salvation of China.

SELECTED LIST OF REFERENCES

- China Year Book*, 1926, edited by H. G. W. Woodhead. An excellent collection of information on all questions relating to China is contained in the series of *China Year Books*, 1919 to 1926. Available at Brentano's, New York.
- Chinese Eastern Railway*, Foreign Policy Association Information Service, Vol. II, No. 1.
- Morley, Felix, *Our Far Eastern Assignment*, D. Appleton & Co., 1926. Presents the main outlines of the situation in China, Japan and the Philippines.

- Putnam-Weale, *The Fight for the Republic of China*. Valuable information on the origin of the Republic.
- National Association for Advancement of Education, Peking. Pamphlets issued for the International Education Conference held in San Francisco contain data on educational developments in China.
- Government Bureau of Economic Information, Peking. Publications contain information on present day economic developments in China.